

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /022 R

DRAFTED BY S/PRS:JMORDWAY:MG

APPROVED BY S/PRS - FREDERICK Z. BROWN

S/S -MR. BRIDGES

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 234581 TOSEC 270551

FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM S/PRS

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: -OPN, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: TRAVELLING PRESS REPORTAGE, WEDNESDAY MORNING,
SEPTEMBER 22, 1976

NO. 36

NEWSPAPERS:

1. WASH POST (MARDER FROM DAR): "NYERERE: RHODESIA
TALKS ARE POSSIBLE)

"TANZANIAN PRESIDENT NYERERE SAID TODAY THAT THE UNITED
STATES HAS PRESENTED TO RHODESIA'S WHITE RULERS A PLAN TO
TRANSFER POWER TO THAT NATION'S BLACK MAJORITY WITHIN TWO
YEARS.

"NYERERE SAID THAT RHODESIAN PM SMITH IS EXPECTED TO MAKE
AN OFFICIAL AFFIRMATIVE REPLY ON FRIDAY, BUT THAT IS NOT
A CERTAINTY. ...

"HOWEVER, REPORTERS TRAVELLING WITH KISSINGER TO ZAIRE AFTER
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HIS TALKS WITH NYERERE WERE TOLD THAT THERE IS NO GUARANTEE
THAT RHODESIA WILL ACCEPT THE NEGOTIATION FORMULA THIS
WEEKEND.

"REVERSAL OF RHODESIA'S ADAMANT OPPOSITION TO ANY EARLY SURRENDER OF POWER TO THE BLACK MAJORITY MAY PROVE TOO MUCH FOR THE RULING RHODESIAN FRONT PARTY TO SWALLOW IN ONE GULP DESPITE SMITH'S REPORTED ACQUIESCENCE TO THE KISSINGER FORMULA, IT WAS SAID.

"BUT KISSINGER MAINTAINS THAT EVEN IF THE WHITE-MINORITY GOVERNMENT BALKS INITIALLY, IN A SHORT TIME, PERHAPS THREE OR FOUR WEEKS, RHODESIA'S WHITES WILL BE COMPELLED TO FACE THE FACT THAT THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE FOR THEM EXCEPT ESCALATING WARFARE AND ULTIMATE DEFEAT.

"(SMITH OUTLINED THE PROPOSALS TO HIS CABINET THIS MORNING, REUTER REPORTED FROM SALISBURY. 'YOU CANNOT ACCEPT BIG PROPOSALS IN A RUSH,' SMITH SAID AFTER THE MEETING. 'WE ARE GOING TO TAKE OUR TIME.')

"THE VIEWS EXPRESSED TODAY BY NYERERE WERE A MAJOR TURN-ABOUT FROM THE SKEPTICISM AND DISCOURAGEMENT ABOUT THE KISSINGER MISSION HE PUBLICLY EXPRESSED HERE LAST WEDNESDAY. ...

"AFTER MEETING PRIVATELY FOR 90 MINUTES WITH KISSINGER TODAY -- A MEETING IN WHICH THE AMERICAN DELEGATION SAID NYERERE'S REACTION TO KISSINGER'S REPORT WAS 'GENERALLY POSITIVE' -- THE TANZANIAN LEADER FACED REPORTERS IN THE SAME SETTING OF LAST WEDNESDAY, THE REAR TERRACE OF TANZANIA'S STATE HOUSE. ...

"KISSINGER'S DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO SET THE STAGE FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON NAMIBIA, WHICH IS RULED BY SOUTH AFRICA UNDER A MANDATE THE UNITED NATIONS HAS RULED IS NO LONGER VALID, ARE LESS CONCLUSIVE, ACCORDING TO NYERERE.

"UNTANGLING THE NAMIBIAN KNOT HAD BEEN PROJECTED ON ALL SIDES AS THE COMPARATIVELY LESS FORMIDABLE TASK. ...

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"TODAY, HOWEVER, NYERERE SAID THAT WHILE THERE HAS BEEN SOME FORWARD MOVEMENT ON NAMIBIA FROM KISSINGER'S TALKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S VORSTER, 'I DON'T EXPECT A CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA TO COME SOON.' ...

"... NYERERE SAID THIS 'SO-CALLED CONFERENCE TURNED OUT TO BE EVEN MORE STUPID THAN I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE. ...

"SOUTH AFRICA NOW PROPOSES ADDING SWAPO TO THE MIX AND PROVIDING A LIMITED ROLE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE PROCESS. THIS IS UNACCEPTABLE, NYERERE SAID.

"(SAM NUJOMA, PRESIDENT OF SWAPO, TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE

AT THE UNITED NATIONS THAT 'THERE IS A GENERAL GROUND FOR NEGOTIATION' WITH SOUTH AFRICA ON NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE, AND THAT THE UNITED STATES, IF IT IS 'SERIOUS,' CAN HELP PROMOTE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, A WASHINGTON POST SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT REPORTED.

"(THE SWAPO LEADER SAID HIS CONDITIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA INCLUDED: TALKS UNDER UN AUSPICES; A SOUTH AFRICAN COMMITMENT TO WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS FROM THE AREA, AND THE RELEASE OF ALL NAMIBIAN PRISONERS BEFORE TALKS BEGIN.

"NUJOMA, IN NEW YORK FOR UN SECURITY TALKS ON NAMIBIA, SAID HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO TALK WITH KISSINGER BUT NO M-ETING HAD BEEN ARRANGED AS YET.)

"REPORTERS ABOARD THE KISSINGER PLANE WERE TOLD THAT THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION NEEDS A FEW MORE WEEKS OF BARGAIN-ING TO SORT OUT A CONFERENCE PROCEDURE BUT THAT PROGRE;S HAD BEEN MADE.

"KISSINGER WAS PLEASED BY THE PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT THAT NYERERE GAVE TODAY TO HIS DIPLOMACY , ALTHOUGH NYERERE'S DISCLOSURE OF THE SPECIFICS IS NOT GOING TO BE HELPFUL IN GEETING SMITH'S GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT IT, AN AMERICAN SOURCE SAID.

"NYERERE HAD DUAL MOTIVES: TO PIN DOWN THE SMITH REGIME
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AND ALSO TO PUT THE UNITED STATES ON THE SPOT FOR PUTTING PRESSURE ON SMITH TO ACCEPT THEM.

"YET NYERERE ALSO SERVED THE AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC OBJECTIVE BY MOVING SO SWIFTLY TO ACEPT THE FORMULA, AND DECLARING THAT ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KAUNDA, WITH WHOM KISSINGER CONFERRED YESTERDAY, ALSO AGREES. IN EFFECT, NYERERE WAS PREEMPTING THE MOST MILITANT OF THE FIVE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS, THE TWO MARXISTS, NETO OF ANGOLA AND MACHEL OF MOZAMBIQUE, WHO MAY BE MORE SKEPTICAL OF KISSINGER'S DIPLOMACY. ..."

2. NEW YORK TIMES: (JOHN DARNTON FRONT PAGE PIECE FROM DAR)

"TANZANIAN REPORTS RHODESIAN AGREEING ON BLACK-WHITE ISSUE; NYERERE NOW MORE HOPEFUL; AFTER MEETING WITH KISSINGER, HE SAYS SMITH ACCEPTS THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE WITHIN 2 YEARS"

"PRESIDENT NYERERE MET WITH SEC OF STATE KISSINGER TODAY AND SAID AFTERWARD THAT THE RHODESIAN PM SMITH HAD ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF BLACK MAJORITY RULE FOR RHODESIA WITHIN TWO YEARS. ...

"NYERERE SIAD HE FELT THAT 'BASIS FOR MOVEMENT FORWARD IS THERE,; BUT HE CAUTIONED THAT NEGOTIATIONS STILL DEPENDED ON SMITH'S HONORING THE PLEDGE HE APPARENTLY GAVE TO KISSINGER IN PRETORIA ON SUNDAY.

"NYERERE'S TONE WAS IN MARKED CONTRAST TO THE GLOOM HE DISPLAYED AT A PRESS CONFERENCE SIX DAYS AGO, WHEN KISSINGER ARRIVED HERE TO START HIS SHUTTLE TRIP BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE AFRICA. ...

"HOWEVER, ON ANOTHER PROBLEM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA - BLACK MAJORITY RULE WITH INDEPENDENCE FOR S-W AFRICA - NYERERE INDICATED THAT NO PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE. HE SAID HE DID NOT EXPECT A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TO RESOLVE THE MATTER SOON. ON RHODESIA, NYERERE SAID THAT KISSINGER TOLD HIM THAT SMITH WOULD DELIVER A SPEECH ON FRIDAY IN WHICH HE WOULD 'INDICATE HIS ACCEPTANCE' OF PROPOSALS ADVANCED BY THE BRITISH IN MARCH TO REPLACE THE UNCLASSIFIED

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GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED BY RHODESIA'S 270,000 WHITES WITH ONE REPRESENTING ITS SIX MILLION BLACKS AS WELL. ...

"BUT SERIOUS OBSTACLES TOWARD A SETTLEMENT REMAIN. ...

"IT IS GENERALLY THOUGHT THAT THE RHODESIAN BLACK NATIONALISTS, WHO HAVE SPLIT INTO FOUR FEUDING FACTIONS, WOULD HAVE TO PRESENT SOME FORM OF UNITED FRONT AT A NEGOTIATING TABLE.

"THERE IS WIDE ROOM FOR DISAGREEMENT OVER PRECISELY WHAT THE DEFINITION OF MAJORITY RULE IS ...

"THERE IS ALWAYS THE POSSIBILITY THAT SMITH, WHO IN THE PAST HAS SEEMED WILLING TO COMPROMISE ONLY TO DRAW BACK ONCE NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN, COULD ONCE AGAIN RENEGE. ...

ADDRESSING THIS POSSIBILITY, NYERERE SAID IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE SMITH 'WILL CHANGE.'...

"BEFORE COMING HERE FROM PRETORIA, KISSINGER STOPPED IN LUSAKA TO REPORT TO KAUNDA, WHO DID NOT APPEAR UNHAPPY WITH WHAT HE HEARD. KISSINGER MET BRIEFLY LAST NIGHT WITH NKOMO. ...

"IN THE SPACE OF ONE WEEK KISSINGER'S SHUTTLE TOOK HIM TO THREE AFRICAN CAPITALS AND INVOLVED MORE THAN 40 HOURS OF NEGOTIATIONS. DURING HIS TALKS WITH BOTH BLACK AND WHITE LEADERS HE WAS SAID TO HAVE OUTLINED A PLAN TO ENCOURAGE WHITES TO STAY IN RHODESIA UNDER A BLACK GOVERNMENT WITH FINANCIAL GUARANTEES AND TO COMPENSATE

THEM IF THEY LEAVE. ..."

3. NYTIMES (GWERTZMAN): "A REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK:
DELICATE DIPLOMACY TO PHOTO FRAUD"

"DAR - ON THE WAY TO LUSAKA YESTERDAY, SEC OF STATE KISS-
INGER AND HIS TOP AIDES WERE CONGRATULATING THEMSELVES ON
SO MANAGING THE NEWS WHILE THEY WERE IN SOUTH AFRICA
THAT THEY WERE ABLE TO CONFER FOR EIGHT HOURS WITH SMITH
WITHOUT HAVING A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN OF KISSINGER AND THE
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WHITE SUPREMACIST TOGETHER.

"CAN YOU IMAGINE WHAT THE BLACK RADICALS WOULD DO
WITH A PICTURE OF KISSINGER AND SMITH?' ONE AIDE SAID IN
JUSTIFICATION. 'WE'D NEVER SEE THE END OF THAT PICTURE.'

"BUT WHEN THE AIR FORCE JET LANDED IN THE ZAMBIAN CAPITAL,
EMBASSY AIDES RUSHED OVER WITH MONDAY'S ZAMBIAN DAILY
MAIL. ON THE FRONT PAGE WAS A FAKED PHOTO SHOWING
KISSINGER AND SMITH TOGETHER. THE CAPTION READ: 'US
SECRETARY OF STATE, DR. HENRY KISSINGER, EMPHASIZING
A POINT TO TRICKY SMITH. BLACKS MUST RULE NOW, HE TOLD
THE REBEL LEADER.'

"THE PHOTO WAS CRUELY COMPOSED. AN OLD PHOTO OF KISSINGER
CONFERRING HAD THE OTHER PERSON'S FACE PARTLY COVERED BY
SMITH'S PICTURE. MOST MEMBERS OF THE KISSINGER PARTY
TENDED TO LAUGH RATHER THAN COMPLAIN BECAUSE OF THE
CRUDITY. BUT ONE AIDE, WHO TAKES SUCH THINGS SERIOUSLY,
SAID: 'THE RHODESIANS MUST HAVE PAID FOR IT, BUT THEY'D
HAVE BEEN BETTER OFF IF THE KGB DID IT THEMSELVES.'

"FOR THE RECORD, WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE PICTURE, THE EDITOR
OF THE DAILY MAIL SAID THAT HE WAS OUT OF TOWN ON
SUNDAY AND WAS 'JUST AS SURPRISED AS YOU' WHEN HE SAW
THE MONDAY PAPER.

"THE CONCERN OVER BEING SEEN WITH SMITH CONTRASTED
OF COURSE WITH KISSINGER'S MIDDLE EAST PHOTO POLICY, WHICH
WAS TO BE PHOTOGRAPHED WITH ARABS AND ISRAELIS AT EVERY
OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE THAT HE WAS TRULY EVEN-HANDED.
PARTICULARLY IN THE ARAB WORLD, KISSINGER CHERISHED
PICTURES SHOWING HIM BEING HUGGED BY PRESIDENT SADAT AND
OF SOMEONE PLUNKING AN ARAB HEADDRESS ON HIM IN JORDAN.

"IN AFRICA, HOWEVER, KISSINGER HAS TRIED TO CONVINCE THE
BLACK AFRICANS THAT HE IS NOT A DISINTERESTED MEDIATOR BUT

RATHER A SKILLFUL ADVOCATE OF THEIR CAUSE. HIS PROBLEM
HAS BEEN NOT ONLY TO OVERCOME THEIR NATURAL SKEPTICISM

BUT ALSO TO PERSUADE THE WHITE RHODESIANS AND SOUTH
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AFRICANS THAT DESPITE HIS PARTIALITY TO THE BLACK AFRICAN
POSITION, THEY SHOULD USE HIS SERVICES.

"TO THEM HE OFFERED HIMSELF AS A DEFENSE ATTORNEY ABLE TO
GET THE BEST POSSIBLE DEAL AND PREVENT BLOODSHED AND
COMMUNIST INTERVENTION FROM SWEEPING THE AREA.

"FOR REPORTERS ACCOMPANYING KISSINGER, THE'SHUTTLE' LACKS
THE VIBRANCY OF THE MIDDLE EAST MISSIONS. IN PART THIS IS
BECAUSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST THE REPORTERS THEMSELVES
INDIRECTLY FIGURED IN THE MEDIATION.

"WHEN THEY FLEW TO CAIRO OR ALEXANDRIA, FOR INSTANCE,
EGYPTIAN JOURNALISTS USED TO QUESTION THEM AT LENGTH ABOUT
ISRAELI POLICIES AND INTENTIONS. IN JERUSALEM, THE
ISRAELI JOURNALISTS WERE DEEPLY CURIOUS ABOUT THE OTHER
SIDE AND THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EGYPTIANS SEEMED TO BE
INFLUENCED SOMEWHAT BY WHAT THE AMERICAN REPORTERS TOLD
THEM OF SADAT'S MODERATION AND DESIRE FOR PEACE.

"IN AFRICA, HOWEVER, IN THE COUNTRIES VISITED SO FAR,
LOCAL JOURNALISTS DO NOT SEEM TO WANT TO KNOW WHAT THE
AMERICANS HAVE SEEN ON THE OTHER SIDE. THEY DO NOT SEEM
TO CARE ABOUT AMERICAN IMPRESSIONS OF THE BLACK
AFRICAN SCENE.

"IN SUCH A SHORT PERIOD, IMPRESSIONS OF BLACK AND WHITE
AFRICA MUST INEVITABLY BE SKETCHY. ONE IS STRUCK,
HOWEVER, THAT UNLIKE THE MIDDLE EAST, WHERE EGYPT AND
ISRAEL, FOR INSTANCE, HAVE VERY LITTLE COMMUNICATION, THERE
IS CONSIDERABLE MOVEMENT BACK AND FORTH IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA OF GOODS, IDEAS AND PEOPLE. BLACK AFRICAN NEWS-
PAPERS HAVE THEIR OWN CORRESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA,
REPORTING ON THE LATEST REPRESSION; PLANES FLY
BETWEEN BLACK AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA; TRADE IS EXTENSIVE.

"THERE ARE ALSO CONTRADICTIONS. BLACK AFRICANS TALKS A
GREAT DEAL ABOUT LIBERATING RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AS THEY
CALL S-W AFRICA, BUT THE ABILITY OF KISSINGER TO ACT AS A
MEDIATOR MAY STEM FROM MOST AFRICAN LEADERS' GENUINE LACK
OF DESIRE FOR A MAJOR CONFLICT THAT MIGHT HAVE REPER-
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CUSSIONS WITH THEIR OWN COUNTRIES AS WELL.

"THEY CANNOT TELL WHETHER THEIR COUNTRIES MIGHT BE BOMBED
IN A CONFLICT OR WHETHER GUERRILLA GROUPS ON THEIR SOIL

MAY BECOME POWERFUL MILITARY BODIES OF THEIR OWN AS THE PALESTINIANS DID IN JORDAN AND LEBANON. AND IN SOUTH AFRICA, A LAND BLESSED WITH MATERIAL RICHES AND TALENTED PEOPLES, THERE IS A SENSE OF TRAGEDY. DESPITE PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY VORSTER EXPRESSING CONFIDENCE IN HIS RULING NATIONALIST PARTY'S APARTHEID POLICY, MANY SOUTH AFRICANS SEEM INCREASINGLY WORRIED ABOUT FINDING WAYS OF ALLEVIATING THE RACIAL TENSIONS CAUSED BY APARTHEID BEFORE DISASTER STRIKES.

"DRIVING AROUND THE PRETORIA SUBURBS ON A DAY WHEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SUMMER IS JUST STARTING, THE SENSE OF TRAGEDY IS COMPOUNDED BY THE BEAUTY OF THE WHITE NEIGHBORHOODS, WITH EXPENSIVE HOUSES AND MANICURED LAWNS, AND FINE GARDENS. MUCH OF THE WEALTH AND ATTRACTIVENESS IS THE RESULT OF LOW PAY FOR BLACK LABOR, AND IN THIS PERIOD OF UNEASINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA, ONE WONDERS WHETHER THESE NEIGHBORHOODS CAN REMAIN SO CALM FOR MUCH LONGER."

4. BOSTON HERALD AMERICAN (HEARST) (WALLACH FROM DAR):
"TANZANIAN SAYS RHODESIA TO ACCEPT BLACK RULE TRANSITION"

"NYERERE DISCLOSED YESTERDAY THAT 'ON THE BASIS OF WHAT I HEAR' FROM SEC OF STATE KISSINGER, RHODESIA HAS ACCEPTED THE US-BRITISH PLAN FOR A NON-VIOLENT TRANSITION TO BLACK MAJORITY RULE WITHIN A TWO-YEAR PERIOD.

"THIS WAS THE FIRST OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION THAT SEC OF STATE KISSINGER APPARENTLY HAD SUCCEEDED IN HIS EFFORTS TO HEAD OFF A DANGEROUSLY ESCALATING RACE WAR IN THE WHITE-RULED NATION. ...

"HE SAID THAT BOTH BLACK RHODESIAN NATIONALIST GROUPS, THE ZIMBABWE NATIONAL UNION (ZANU) AND THE ZIMBABWE NATIONAL PEOPLES UNION (ZAPU) WOULD ATTEND THE CONFERENCE TO DRAFT A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR RHODESIAN INDEPENDENCE. THE CONFERENCE WILL TAKE PLACE IN GENEVA, NYERERE SAID.
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"NYERERE ALSO SAID, 'I AM HOPING THE WHITE MINORITY WILL BE REPRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE,' AND INDICATED THAT HE THOUGHT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO PROVIDE PROPERTY AND OTHER GUARANTEES FOR RHODESIA'S 270,000 WHITE MINORITY.

"NYERERE ALSO DISCLOSED THAT THE GUERRILLA WAR AGAINST RHODESIA WOULD COME TO AN END AS SOON AS AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS FORMED. NYERERE'S SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PLAN WORKED OUT BY KISSINGER DURING A WEEK LONG SHUTTLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WAS CONSIDERED THE KEY ELEMENT IN OBTAINING THE SUPPORT OF THE OTHER NEIGHBORING FRONTLINE STATES. ...

"THE MAJOR DECISIONS ARE NOW ON THE BLACK AFRICAN SIDE,'

THE SENIOR US OFFICIAL ABOARD KISSINGER'S PLANE SAID EN ROUTE HERE. HE EXPLAINED THEY COULD PROVIDE THE PROPERTY AND OTHER GUARANTEES THAT WOULD ENCOURAGE THE MAJORITY OF RHODESIA'S 270,000 WHITES TO REMAIN AFTER BLACK MAJORITY RULE.

"MEANWHILE, REPORTERS ACCOMPANYING KISSINGER WERE TOLD THE SOVIET UNION IS WAITING IN THE WINGS TO PLAY THE SPOILER ROLE BY INCITING EITHER LEFTIST ANGOLA OR MOZAMBIQUE TO ADOPT POSITIONS WELL BEYOND THE FRAMEWORK OF THE BRITISH PLAN.

"EITHER RADICAL NATION COULD CHARGE THIS TIMEFRAME IS TOO LONG, DEMANDING A TRANSFER TO BLACK RULE WITHIN SIX MONTHS OR LESS, AND REJECTING THE US-BRITISH PLAN FOR THE FORMATION OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO PACE THE WAY FOR FREE ELECTIONS FOR RHODESIA'S SIX MILLION BLACKS.

"SENIOR US OFFICIALS APPEARED CONFIDENT THAT DESPITE EXPECTED OPPOSITION FROM ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, THE THREE OTHER NEIGHBORING AFRICAN NATIONS - TANZANIA, ZAMBIA AND BOTSWANA - WOULD RESPOND POSITIVELY, PAVING THE WAY FOR BRITAIN TO CONVENE A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE WITHIN THE NEXT TWO MONTHS."

5. LATIMES (JOHNSTON FROM DAR): "SMITH REPORTEDLY OKS BLACK RHODESIA RULE; TANZANIAN PRESIDENT TELLS OF KISSINGER' PROGRESS, SEES CHANGEOVER IN 2 YEARS"

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"SEC OF STATE KISSINGER HAS TOLD BLACK AFRICAN PRESIDENTS THAT RHODESIAN PM SMITH WILL PUBLICLY DECLARE HIS ACCEPTANCE OF BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, PERHAPS ON A TWO-YEAR TIMETABLE, NYERERE DISCLOSED TUESDAY. ...

"FOR THE FIRST TIME DURING KISSINGER'S AFRICA MISSION, NYERERE EXPRESSED PUBLIC SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN EFFORT, WHICH ALSO WAS BEGINNING TO TAKE SHAPE PUBLICLY. ...

"IN LONDON, A FOREIGN OFFICE SPOKESMAN SAID BRITAIN WAS 'FULL OF ADMIRATION FOR WHAT DR. KISSINGER IS DOING AND

HAS ACHIEVED SO FAR,' BUT ADDED CAUTIOUSLY THAT 'WE OURSELVES HAVE BEEN AROUND THIS TRACK BEFORE AND ARE NOT COUNTING OUR CHICKENS BEFORE THEY ARE HATCHED.' ...

"KISSINGER HIMSELF HAS DISCLOSED NO DETAILS OF THE RHODESIAN PROPOSALS. SPOKESMEN FOR THE KISSINGER PARTY CAUTIONED THAT THE RHODESIAN LEADERSHIP MIGHT BACK OFF FROM ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS AT ANY TIME.

"THE ONE DISCORDANT NOTE IN THE BRIEF QUESTION-AND-ANSWER SESSION THAT FOLLOWED NYERERE'S NEWS CONFERENCE

WAS HIS JUDGMENT THAT KISSINGER FAILED TO BRING BACK FROM SOUTH AFRICA ... A SOLUTION TO THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE BLACK MAJORITY IN NAMIBIA.

"BUT THE FOCUS TUESDAY WAS ON RHODESIA. NYERERE, WHO MET KISSINGER FOR ABOUT 90 MINUTES DURING THE MORNING, APPEARED AS ANXIOUS TO SOUND AGREEABLE THIS TIME AS HE APPEARED BENT ON SOUNDING PESSIMISTIC A WEEK AGO. ...

"... ABSENT FROM HIS REMARKS THIS TIME WAS ANY HINT THAT HE DISTRUSTS US MOTIVES -- A DISTRUST THAT MARKED HIS NEWS CONFERENCE LAST WEDNESDAY. (INCLUDED OUTLINE OF NYERERE PRESS CONFERENCE)...

"NYERERE MADE NO REFERENCE TO THE PROPOSAL THAT HAS BEEN UNDER DISCUSSION AMONG KISSINGER, THE BRITISH, THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND SOME WESTERN EUROPEANS FOR A \$1.5 BILLION TO UNCLASSIFIED

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\$2 BILLION 'SAFETY NET' FUND TO GUARANTEE SOME FINANCIAL SECURITY FOR WHITES LEAVING THE COUNTRY AND TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR OTHERS TO STAY. ALSO UNEXPLAINED AT THIS STAGE WAS WHETHER OR NOW KISSINGER'S EARLIER INSISTENCE ON PRESERVING WHITE MINORITY RIGHTS WOULD BE WORKED OUT IN A SETTLEMENT.

"KISSINGER HIMSELF IS UNDERSTOOD TO BELIEVE THAT THE INFLUENCE THE UNITED STATES CAN BRING TO BEAR ON RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA WENT A LONG WAY TOWARD MAKING SMITH ACCEPT MAJORITY RULE. AT THE SAME TIME, NYERERE'S PUBLIC EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE US ROLE APPEARED TO BE A REMINDER TO KISSINGER THAT, AS FAR AS BLACK AFRICA IS CONCERNED, THE UNITED STATES WILL STILL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE IF SMITH GOES BACK ON THE DEAL.

"SIMILARLY, NYERERE'S PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF THE MAIN DETAILS OF THE PLAN APPEARED IN PART DESIGNED TO LOCK THE FIVE MAIN 'FRONT-LINE' BLACK AFRICAN PRESIDENTS INTO PLACE BESIDE HIM SUPPORTING THE US INITIATIVE. A SUMMIT OF THE FIVE WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY, NYERERE TOLD REPORTERS.

"IN THE SAME WAY, NYERERE SEEMD TO BE APPEALING TO THE DISCORDANT RHODESIAN BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS TO STOP SQUABBLING AND GET TOGETHER. ...

"NYERERE REFUSED, INSISTING TUESDAY AS HE DID A WEEK AGO, THAT SWAPO MUST ALONE REPRESENT THE BLACKS. IT IS EVIDENTLY BECAUSE OF KISSINGER'S FAILURE TO WIN VORSTER OVER ON THIS POINT THAT HIS OWN EARLIER OPTIMISM THAT NAMIBIA COULD BE SOLVED AT PRETORIA WAS DISSIPATED LAST WEEKEND.

"EVEN IF THE RHODESIAN QUESTION IS SETTLED PEACEFULLY, NYERERE ADDED, GUERRILLA WAR IN NAMIBIA WOULD CONTINUE UNTIL THE ISSUE OF SWAPO'S ROLE IN THE CONFERENCE IS SOLVED.

"THE SOUR NOTE ON NAMIBIA DID NOT UNDERMINE THE GENERAL MOOD OF OPTIMISM AND GOOD FEELING OF NYERERE'S VIEWS ON RHODESIA, HOWEVER. ..."

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RADIO/TV

1. BERNARD KALB, CBS RADIO, WORLD NEWS ROUNDUP:

"KISSINGER'S SCHEDULE TODAY IS MORE EXOTIC THAN DIPLOMATIC. IT CALLS FOR LUNCH ON A RIVER BOAT STEAMING ALONG THE CONGO, HIS HOST, ZAIRE'S PRESIDENT MOBUTU, WITH NO URGENT BUSINESS ON THE MENU. FOR KISSINGER, THAT WILL BE A CHANGE OF PACE. THE LAST FEW DAYS HAVE SEEN SOME HECTIC SHUTTLE BETWEEN THE WHITES AND BLACKS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. AND NOW, IT'S MOSTLY A CASE OF WAITING FOR FRIDAY TO SEE IF HIS SHUTTLE HAS INDEED PRODUCED A BREAKTHROUGH THAT WOULD CHANGE THE POLITICAL COM-

PLEXION OF RHODESIA. THAT COUNTRY'S PRIME MINISTER, IAN SMITH, WHO LEADS A WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENT, IS NOW EXPECTED BY BLACK AFRICA TO ISSUE A POLICY STATEMENT ON FRIDAY INDICATING HIS ACCEPTANCE OF BLACK MAJORITY RULE. BLACK AFRICA IS PLEASED, AND IT HAS SAID SO. BUT BLACK AFRICA IS NOT INSENSITIVE TO SMITH'S HAVING OUTFOXED OTHER NEGOTIATORS IN THE PAST, SO IT'S WAITING TO SEE THE EXACT LANGUAGE OF THE SMITH STATEMENT BEFORE ANY CHEERING BEGINS. INDEED, SO IS KISSINGER WAITING, WITH A TOUCH OF NERVOUSNESS. REPORTERS TRAVELLING WITH THE SECRETARY HAVE BEEN CAUTIONED AGAINST THINKING THAT IT'S ALL WRAPPED UP, SINCE, ACCORDING TO US OFFICIALS, THERE'S ALWAYS A POSSIBILITY THAT THE WHITE RHODESIANS MIGHT, AT THE LAST MINUTE, DECIDE AGAINST ACCEPTING BLACK MAJORITY RULE. (FROM KINSHASA)"

2. BARRIE DUNSMORE, AMERICAN INFORMATION RADIO, ABC:

"AS FAR AS KISSINGER IS CONCERNED, THE MAJOR WORK OF THE AFRICAN SHUTTLE HAS BEEN CONCLUDED. TODAY, HE IS PAYING A COURTESY CALL ON PRESIDENT MOBUTU HERE IN KINSHASA. LATER TODAY, HE FLIES TO NAIROBI FOR A SIMILAR VISIT WITH KENYA'S PRESIDENT KENYATTA. TOMORROW, HE WILL BE IN LONDON TO GIVE A FULL REPORT TO THE BRITISH, AND THERE HE WILL AWAIT THE PUBLIC STATEMENT OF RHODESIAN PM SMITH ON FRIDAY. A SENIOR OFFICIAL DID SAY, HOWEVER, THAT

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EVEN IF THE SMITH STATEMENT IS NOT SATISFACTORY, HE FEELS KISSINGER COULD PUT IT TOGETHER AGAIN IN THREE OR FOUR WEEKS. (FROM KINSHASA)"

3. BARRIE DUNSMORE, ABC-TV "GOOD MORNING AMERICA":

KISSINGER WAS IN THE BEST OF SPIRITS ON THE FLIGHT HERE TO KINSHASA FROM DAR ES SALAAM, THE PICTURE OF A MAN WHO IS ON THE THRESHOLD OF ANOTHER DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS. THE REACTION OF TANZANIAN PRESIDENT NYERERE TO THE RHODESIAN DEAL PUT TOGETHER BY KISSINGER IN SOUTH AFRICA OVER THE WEEKEND WAS AS POSITIVE AS IT POSSIBLY COULD BE, AND NYERERE FINESSED OTHER BLACK PRESIDENTS BY PUBLICLY ACCEPTING IT, THUS HEADING OFF A POSSIBLE DEBATE AMONG THEM. THERE IS ALWAYS THE POSSIBILITY, OF COURSE, THAT THE RHODESIANS WILL BACK AWAY AT THE LAST MINUTE AS THEY HAVE MANY TIMES BEFORE. HOWEVER, CORRESPONDENTS ON KISSINGER'S PLANE WERE TOLD THAT EVEN IF THAT DOES HAPPEN, HE FEELS HE COULD PUT IT BACK TOGETHER AGAIN IN THREE OR FOUR WEEKS.

WIRES

1. REUTERS (NO BYLINE FROM KINSHASA): "MOBUTU SEKO OF ZAIRE SAID TODAY THAT SEC KISSINGER HAD CONVINCED HIM THAT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM IS NOW POSSIBLE.

"SMITH'S REPLY IS EXPECTED ON FRIDAY, BUT MOBUTU SAID HE EXPECTED THAT A SUCCESSFUL SOLUTION WAS IN SIGHT. HE TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE: 'NO DOUBT REMAINS IN MY MIND. THE ONLY WORRY THAT REMAINS IS THE DIVISION AMONG THE ZIMBABWE NATIONALIST LEADERS.'

"MOBUTU SAID THAT BEFORE KISSINGER BEGAN HIS 11-DAY MISSION THROUGH AFRICA, WHICH ENDS TOMORROW, ALL THE INDEPENDENT STATES OF AFRICA HAD OPTED FOR AN ARMED STRUGGLE TO DEPOSE RHODESIA'S 270,000 WHITES.

"'NOW, HE PROPOSES THAT THE SOLUTION BE OBTAINED BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND HE HAS NOW CONVINCED ME,' MOBUTU SAID.
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"AT A SEPARATE NEWS CONFERENCE, KISSINGER DECLINED TO GIVE ADDITIONAL DETAILS ABOUT THE PROPOSED RHODESIA SETTLEMENT. ...

"ON ANOTHER ISSUE, HOWEVER, HE SAID CUBA HAD WITHDRAWN 2,000 OR 3,000 OF ITS TROOPS FROM ANGOLA, BUT SAID THE UNITED STATES REMAINED CONCERNED ABOUT THE SOLDIERS WHO REMAIN. US OFFICIALS ESTIMATED THEIR NUMBER AT 10,000.

"MOBUTU SAID HE HAD BEEN PERSUADED BY AN EMISSARY FROM CUBAN PREMIER CASTRO THAT THE TROOPS POSE NO THREAT TO ZAIRE, WHICH BORDERS ANGOLA ON THE NORTH.

"MEANWHILE, IN SALISBURY TODAY, SMITH SAID HIS CABINET HAS REACHED A CONSENSUS ON ITS APPROACH TO THE PEACE PLAN, BUT IT REMAINS TO BE APPROVED BY A PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS OF THE RULING RHODESIAN FRONT SCHEDULED FOR TOMORROW.

"SENIOR KISSINGER OFFICIALS WERE CLEARLY ENCOURAGED BY NYERERE'S APPARENT CHANGE IN ATTITUDE. ...

"NYERERE SAID THE CONTINUING DIVISIONS IN THE RHODESIAN BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT WOULD NOT BE AN OBSTRUCTION TO A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. THE FACTIONS COULD ATTEND SEPARATELY, HE SAID.

"BUT HE SAID THE GUERRILLA WAR WOULD GO ON UNTIL THE FORMATION OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THE COUNTRY

TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE A BLACK MAJORITY ONE, HE SAID. ..."

2. UPI (NO BYLINE FROM KINSHASA): KISSINGER SOUGHT SUPPORT FROM ZAIRE TODAY FOR HIS PLAN TO BRING BLACK RULE TO RHODESIA, BUT A FAVORABLE RESPONSE FROM INFLUENTIAL TANZANIAN PRESIDENT NYERERE ALREADY HAS VIRTUALLY ASSURED BLACK AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL.

"IN DAR TUESDAY, NYERERE SAID -- AND US OFFICIALS AGREED -- UNCLASSIFIED

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THE ONLY THING STANDING IN THE WAY OF A CONFERENCE TO SETTLE THE RHODESIAN QUESTION IS THE FORMAL, PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF BLACK MAJORITY RULE BY RHODESIAN PM SMITH. NYERERE SAID SMITH 'HAS ACCEPTED MAJORITY RULE' IN TALKS WITH KISSINGER AND WON'T BACK OUT 'BECAUSE THIS TIME THE UNITED STATES IS THERE TO SAY TO SMITH THE GAME IS UP.'

"KISSINGER WAS TO BRIEF ZAIRE'S PRESIDENT MOBUTO TODAY BEFORE FLYING ON TO NAIROBI, KENYA, FOR TALKS WITH PRESIDENT KENYATTA.

"THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT SCHEDULED A SPECIAL SESSION TODAY TO CONSIDER THE PROPOSAL AND SMITH WAS EXPECTED TO REPLY FORMALLY ON FRIDAY."

3. AP (NO BYLINE FROM KINSHASA): SEC OF STATE KISSINGER IN EFFECT TOLD PRIME MINISTER SMITH: 'THE GAME IS UP,'

ACCORDING TO US SOURCES AND AFRICAN DIPLOMATS IN ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA. THE RHODESIAN LEADER AND THE THREE CABINET COLLEAGUES WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM LAST WEEKEND TO PRETORIA HAD ALREADY HEARD MUCH THE SAME THING FROM VORSTER, THEIR LONE FOREIGN SUPPORTER. SMITH AND HIS MEN BUCKLED AND AGREED TO ADVISE THEIR CABINET IN SALISBURY TO YIELD POWER TO THE BLACK MAJORITY AFTER 11 YEARS OF REBELLIOUS INDEPENDENCE. TANZANIAN PRESIDENT NYERERE TOLD REPORTERS TUESDAY HE WAS NO LONGER GLOOMY ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. BUT HE CAUTIONED: 'LIFE IS FULL OF IMPONDERABLES, AND SMITH IS AN IMPONDERABLE.'

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 16 SEP 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, PRESS COMMENTS, POLICIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE234581
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: S/PRS:JMORDWAY:MG
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D760358-0128
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197609108/baaaeqex.tel
Line Count: 664
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 13
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 FEB 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 FEB 2004 by MaustMC>; APPROVED <11 JAN 2005 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TRAVELLING PRESS REPORTAGE, WEDNESDAY MORNING,
TAGS: SOPN, OVIP, SF, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (CALLAGHAN, JAMES)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006